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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5599

INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION BERLIN

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, ETRN, BW

SUBJECT: FRG CHANCELLERY OFFICIAL ON BERLIN AIR

MATTERS

SUMMARY. IN OCTOBER 10 DISCUSSION BETWEEN FRG
CHANCELLERY AIDE AND THREE WESTERN REPRESENTATIVES,
FORMER NOTED FRG INTENTION TO DISCUSS WITH SOVIETS
DURING SCHMIDT'S UPCOMING VISIT TO MOSCOW THE SUBJECT OF
LUFTHANSA'S LANDING IN WEST BERLIN. FRG REP REVERTED
TO OLD IDEA OF ALLIES' HAVING GENERAL DISCUSSION OF
BERLIN AIR MATTERS WITH SOVIETS IF LATTER MAKE THIS
CONDITION FOR LUFTHANSA'S LANDING. THREE ALLIED REPS
UNANIMOUSLY OPPOSED THIS IDEA. FRG AIDE SAID HE MIGHT
RETURN TO SUBJECT AFTER SCHMIDT VISIT. END SUMMARY

1. SENIOR FRG CHANCELLERY AIDE SANNE BRIEFED US AND FRENCH AMBASSADORS AND UK CHARGE OCTOBER 10 ON FRG-GDR RELATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS FOR CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT'S CONFIDENTIAL

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VISIT AT END OF MONTH TO USSR (SEPTELS). WHILE

DISCUSSING LATTER TOPIC, SANNE SAID FRG SIDE WOULD RAISE WITH SOVIETS THE MATTER OF LUFTHANSA'S LANDING IN WEST BERLIN EN ROUTE FROM FRG TO MOSCOW. SANNE NOTED THAT THE THREE ALLIES HAD RAISED THIS WITH SOVIETS IN BERLIN THIS SPRING BUT HAD RECEIVED AN UNSATISFACTORY REPLY (BERLIN 478). FRG SIDE THOUGHT IT NOW TIME TO PURSUE MATTER FURTHER. SANNE SAID THE FRG DELEGATION WOULD ALSO RAISE MATTER OF BULGARIA'S CREATING DIFFICULTIES WITH WESTERN FLIGHTS FROM WEST BERLIN.

- 2. SANNE THEN LAUNCHED INTO SET PIECE ABOUT THE NEED TO BOLSTER WEST BERLIN'S SAGGING MORALE AND ABOUT THE ROLE THAT EXPANSION OF AIR TRAVEL COULD PLAY IN THIS REGARD. HE NOTED THAT FLIGHTS BY LUFTHANSA COULD GIVE WEST BERLIN MAN-IN-THE-STREET SOMETHING POSITIVE TO POINT TO. HE CONCLUDED BY EXPRESSING THE HOPE THAT THERE COULD BE SOME PROGRESS GENERALLY IN THE WEST BERLIN AIR SITUATION IN THE NEXT YEAR OR SO.
- 3. AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND SAID HE WAS SURE THE THREE ALLIES WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION TO THE FRG'S RAISING WITH THE SOVIETS THE AIR MATTERS SANNE HAD DESCRIBED. HE STRESSED THAT THE ALLIES WOULD BE OPPOSED TO A DISCUSSION THAT COULD LEAD TO A GENERAL DISCUSSION OF THE BERLIN AIR REGIME BETWEEN THE THREE ALLIES AND THE USSR. HE NOTED THAT THIS HAD BECOME THE STANDARD SOVIET RESPONSE TO RECENT APPROACHES ON THE LUFTHANSA LANDING. HE SAID THE ALLIES STOOD TO GAIN NOTHING FROM SUCH A BROAD DISCUSSION AND COULD, IN FACT, ONLY LOSE. HE STATED TO SANNE THAT THE ALLIES WOULD THEREFORE HAVE TO INSIST THAT THE FRG-SOVIET DISCUSSIONS OF LUFTHANSA NOT SPILL OVER INTO A DISCUSSION OF THE GENERAL BERLIN AIR SITUATION AND THAT THEY NOT LEAD TO PRESSURE FOR ALLIED-SOVIET TALKS ON THAT SUBJECT. UK AND FRENCH REPRESENTA-TIVES SUPPORTED THIS POSITION.
- 4. SANNE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THE ALLIED VIEWPOINT BUT HE WONDERED WHETHER THE ALLIES COULD NOT AGREE TO SEE EXACTLY WHAT THE SOVIETS WANTED IN THE CONTEXT OF WIDER BERLIN AIR TALKS. HE SAID HE FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO CONFIDENTIAL

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DEFEND THE ALLIED STAND IN TALKS WITH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT. THE LATTER TENDED TO TAKE THE LINE THAT THE ALLIES COULD NOT EXPRESS SUCH STRONG RESERVATIONS ABOUT POTENTIAL HARM TO THEIR POSITION UNLESS THEY KNEW MORE PRECISELY WHAT THE SOVIETS WANTED. SANNE SAID HE WONDERED (AND HE THOUGHT THE CHANCELLOR WOULD WONDER) WHY THE ALLIES COULD NOT BEGIN TALKS ON BERLIN AIR WITH THE SOVIETS AND, IF THE SOVIET DEMANDS WERE UNACCEPTABLE

THEN SIMPLY BREAK OFF THE TALKS.

5. AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND THANKED SANNE FOR THIS PRESENTATION, NOTING THAT IT WAS THE CLEAREST EXPRESSION OF FRG VIEWS ON THIS SUBJECT THAT HE HAD HEARD IN SOME TIME. SANNE INTERJECTED IN A RUEFUL VOICE THAT HE WAS

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WORKING FOR A CHANCELLOR WHO DEMANDED CLARITY.

AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND SAID THAT THE FRG POSITION STILL

MADE NO SENSE TO HIM: WHY GET INTO TALKS ON BERLIN AIR

WHEN THE PRESENT AIR REGIME WAS, WITH A COUPLE OF

EXCEPTIONS SUCH AS THE 10,000 FOOT LIMIT IN THE CORRI
DORS, QUITE FAVORABLE TO US AND TO WEST BERLIN. HE

ASKED WHAT THE ALLIES COULD GAIN FROM SUCH A DISCUSSION

AND STRESSED THAT THERE COULD ONLY BE AN UNDERMINING OF

AN AREA OF ALLIED ACCESS THAT WOULD NOT BE IN THE

WESTERN INTEREST.

6. AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND ADDED THAT ONE PROBLEM THAT WOULD CERTAINLY CONFRONT US IN ANY GENERAL DISCUSSION WITH THE SOVIETS WOULD BE PRESSURE FOR A GDR ROLE IN THE BERLIN AIR REGIME, SOMETHING THAT NONE OF THE ALLIES WOULD WANT. HE COMMENTED FURTHER THAT HE THOUGHT THAT IF THE WEST BERLINERS LEARNED OF A MOVE FOR GENERAL CONFIDENTIAL

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ALLIED-SOVIET TALKS ON BERLIN AIR WHICH RESULTED IN SUCH EXTREME SOVIET DEMANDS THAT THE TALKS HAD TO BE BROKEN OFF, THEIR MORALE WOULD BE WORSE THAN IF NO TALKS WERE HELD AT ALL. UK AND FRENCH REPS AGAIN ASSOCIATED THEMSELVES WITH AMBASSADOR HILLENBRAND'S REMARKS. THE FRENCH REP RECALLED THE SOVIET WARNINGS ON THE MARGIN OF THE QUADRIPARTITE DECLARATION NEGOTIATIONS IN 1972 TO THE EFFECT THAT ANY GENERAL DISCUSSION OF BERLIN AIR WOULD OPEN A PANDORA'S BOX, TO THE BENEFIT OF NOBODY.

- 7. SANNE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD ALL OF THE ARGUMENTS BUT HE STILL WAS FACED WITH CONVEYING TO THE CHANCELLOR MORE THAN EXPRESSIONS OF GENERAL ALLIED CONCERN HE SAID THAT HE DID NOT EXCLUDE THAT THE CHANCELLOR MIGHT RAISE WITH THE THREE ALLIES THE QUESTION OF THEIR OPENING GENERAL TALKS WITH THE SOVIETS TO FIND OUT WHAT THE LATTER HAD IN MIND. HE SAID THAT THIS SUBJECT WAS NOT A PRESSING ONE FOR THE TIME BEING, HOWEVER, AND ONE COULD RETURN TO IT AFTER THE FRG DISCUSSIONS LATER THIS MONTH IN MOSCOW.
- 8. COMMENT. SANNE'S COMMENTS REFLECT A LINE OF THINKING THAT WAS CIRCULATING IN THE TOP REACHES OF THE CHANCELLERY AND FONOFF IN RECENT YEARS. BOTH BAHR AND FRANK HAVE ARGUED THIS LINE IN TALKS WITH THE THREE AMBASSADORS IN YEARS PAST.
- 9. OUR POSITION ON THE SANNE PROPOSAL REMAINS FIRMLY NEGATIVE. WE HAVE NOTHING TO GAIN FROM ANY WIDE-RANGING AIR TALKS WITH THE SOVIETS ON BERLIN: AND THERE IS NOTHING THAT WE CAN OFFER, IN THE BERLIN AIR CONTEXT, THAT WILL NOT HAVE A HARMFUL EFFECT ON OUR PRESENT FAVORABLE POSITION. SANNE SEEMS TO BE ARGUING THAT IN ORDER TO GET LUFTHANSA INTO WEST BERLIN (N.B. ON A NON-PASSENGER CARRYING BASIS BETWEEN THE FRG AND WEST BERLIN) FOR OPTICAL AND DOMESTIC POLITICAL REASONS, THE ALLIES SHOULD CONTEMPLATE A GENERAL AIR DISCUSSION WITH THE SOVIETS. THIS SEEMS TO US AN UNACCEPTABLE AND SHORT-SIGHTED PROPOSITION.

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